Up to this moment the only open manifestation had been the demand of Skrypnyk that Communists be included in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences but this had apparently been answered satisfactorily and, with slight changes, the Academy was working as before. The most that could be said was that the leaders of Ukrainian thought in the Academy had not properly in their old age kept pace with the development of Marxo-Leninist thought but even this was hardly sufficient for the outburst which was loosed against a group of widely respected scholars.

Another curious aspect of the situation was that the most severe sentences were not given to the announced ringleaders and chief culprits but that there was unearthed on the occasion another society, the SUM, the Society of Ukrainian Youth, which consisted of relatively obscure students, village intelligentsia, peasants and workmen who were shot by the hundreds and thousands without being brought before any tribunal. The head of this group, Mykola Pavlushkiv, was involved in the trial but once again there was no indication that any members of the SUM had been engaged in any form of sabotage or anti-governmental work. Members of the organization who have escaped abroad have testified that the SUM was organized only on the basis of personal friendships and never undertook or planned any deliberate acts of sabotage.

The discovery of the Society for the Liberation of Ukraine with its assumed anti-Communist tinge was the signal for the opening of a campaign against the most respected older non-Communist members of the Academy. The usual method was by the device of demanding Communist self-criticism, and criticism. Its practice was brutally simple and effective.

The Communist organs, especially the GPU-NKVD, decided which of these scholars were to be broken ideologically (and morally) and which were to be removed without fanfare. The latter disappeared. The former group were forced to appear for public "self-criticism." This was preceded by a series of attacks in the newspapers as to the mistakes in Marxo-Leninism which the victim had committed.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668* such as the head of the *oblast* (district) administration, Alexander Iatseniuk, the chief of the city administration, Pavlovs'kyi, and nearly all of his department heads.[50] A wide variety of nationalist organizations sprang up, including Prosvita, churches, and an active theater. Local artists appeared on Ukrainian programs permitted by the German-controlled broadcasting station. [871] Schools, including two *gimnaziias* and a pedagogical institute, were reopened, and a local school administration was established.[51]

[369] The population of the city sank to forty-two thousand (including seven thousand Poles and two thousand Russians) after the [438] deportation of the Jews. However, economic life was stimulated by the reopening of a sugar refinery and other industries; markets were reopened and private trade was encouraged.[52] One hundred [795] and seventy-nine physicians were present, a very high number in [883] proportion to the population.[53] An extremely active youth organization, known, like its counterparts in the West Ukraine, as the Sich, was formed; its activities included sports, choral singing, theatricals, and development of an orchestra.[54]

All of these organizations were under the control of nationalist Ukrainians, although the emphasis appeared to be on the formation of a Ukrainian territorial state which would include all persons, of whatever ethnic origin, living on Ukrainian soil. Thus one of the chief administrative officials, the head of the *raion* administration (i.e., the rural area outside the city) was a Pole, and the director of the economic section of the city administration was a Russian.[55] There appears to have been a large measure of cordiality between the local groups and the OUN representa-

[50] Fedir (Theodore) S. Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2; 454th Sicherungsdivision, Section VII, Report of October 4, 1941, NOKW 2129 (hereafter referred to as NOKW 2129).

[51] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, October 1, 1941, p. 1; Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 24 and 26, 1941, pp. 2 and 3; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, August 25, 1942, p. 5; *Nastup*, September 6, 1941, p. 5.

[52] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, September 15, 1941, p. 1, based on *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Zhitomir), August 3, 1941; Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 26, 1941, p. 3.

[53] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 24, 1941, p. 2; many, however, were apparently Jews who were temporarily spared because of their usefulness (*Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2).

[54] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 26, 1941, p. 3.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 2, and *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2.

1 [Zhitomir in the East Ukraine, 1941 -- Analyst]

463

Workers of various skills	1,788
Students	560
Liberal professions (journalists, writers, merchants, artists, etc.)	313
Teachers	252
Engineers	343
Administrators	178
Jurists	11

462 186

Compared to the occupational differences in nationalist activity, differences of age and sex played a minor role. There is little information on the activity of women. Evidently they carried on most of the welfare work; one German report states that a major reason for permitting the functioning of the Ukrainian Red Cross was a desire to absorb the energies of the women intellectuals, who had been highly "politicized" by the Soviet regime.[23] There are a few cases of prominent nationalist work by women, for example, by the poet Olena Teliha who headed the OUN-M literary circle in Kiev until its suppression by the Germans. In general, nationalist observers agree that the women were less active politically than the men. While there is too little evidence to warrant a firm conclusion on this score, it is just possible that the nationalist movements neglected a useful source of support, which was certainly tapped by the Communist underground.[24]

186 883 [668*]

Youth, on the other hand, played a prominent part in nationalist work. While a large number of Mel'nyk supporters were drawn from the older generation, and the OUN-B made special efforts to capture the younger group, there was here no "conflict of generations" in respect to adherence to the two factions. Since only physically active persons were useful in the east, even the Mel'nyk organizers were predominantly youthful, and thus could approach their contemporaries more readily. The strength of the youth organizations dominated by the OUN-M in Kiev and Zhitomir has already been described. Other young men, of course, rejected both nationalist groups as too extreme, and formed centers of their own, while still others appear to have arisen in complete independence of outside stimulation. Thus the whole administra-

1/1 [Occupation specialization of Ukrainian émigré group in Bohemia-Moravia--analysis]

[23] USSR Exhibit 278.

[24] PS 3876.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

186 tion and cultural life of Pavlograd, a small town east of Dnieprope-
883 petrovsk on the way to the Donbas, was organized by a group of graduates from the local *gimnaziia*.[25] They owed their nationalism, according to reports by visitors, entirely to the work of an inspiring teacher (who had in turn received his nationalist indoctrination in Kharkov University) who had taught there until caught by the NKVD some years previously.[26]

[668] The division of nationalist youth among both factions of the OUN, and locally formed groups, parallels closely the division of their elders in the East Ukraine. In one respect, however, the younger generation was different; there was a considerable number of youths who had been active adherents of Communist organizations but who now joined the nationalist movements.[27] The most prominent ex-Komsomol was the son of Alexander Iatseniuk who, after an extremely active career in OUN-M organization in the Zhitomir area, fled to the Volhynian woods where as "Volynets' " he became an important nationalist partisan leader. On the other hand, large numbers of young people were daring enough to praise the Soviet openly, or took part in underground activity, while condemning the Ukrainian language and customs.[28]

On the whole, in their reaction to nationalist political activity, there does not seem to have been any marked difference between the younger and the older generations, at least not nearly so sharp a difference as in Galicia. It is fairly certain that a large percentage of the youth who joined nationalist activities were influenced by their parents. Others—sons of kulaks, priests, and intellectuals who had been persecuted by the Soviet regime—resented the Soviet order because of their parents' misfortune.

Apparently whatever advantage the nationalist movement may have enjoyed among the older generation because of the latter's memory of Petliura and the nationalist activity of the twenties was at least partly offset by the greater appeal of a romantic,

[25] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, December 12, 1942, p. 3; *Nova Doba* (Berlin), July 5, 1942, p. 3; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 3, 1942, p. 2.

[26] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 3, 1942, p. 2.

[27] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 23, 1941, p. 2, based on an article from *L'vivs'ki Visti*.

[28] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, August 12, 1942, p. 3.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

activist movement like the OUN to youth, or by the latter's desire in other cases to rearrange life to suit themselves. There is a faint suggestion that the Soviet regime may already have become the "old order" against which revolutionary youth is wont to rebel. On the other hand, these very qualities which made the nationalist *political* movement attractive to the younger generation had the effect of keeping it antagonistic to religion. As has already been pointed out, there is almost universal agreement that youth in the East Ukraine was cool, even hostile, to the churches.[29] In the south, the Protestants and dissident Orthodox groups seem to have been somewhat more successful, but they had no direct relation to the nationalist movement.[30]

The OUN-B, it will be recalled, placed special emphasis on securing the allegiance of youth, since its young agitators were unable to attract the support of the intelligentsia.[31] There is a small amount of evidence to indicate that the nationalist movements attracted a broader occupational group from the youth than from among its elders. So little is known concerning the role of the laboring classes, however, that no conclusions can be offered. Historically, the working class in the East Ukraine had been predominantly Russian or Russified. The working class was also generally more loyal to the Soviet system than most of the other social groups. Even if the Ukrainian claim that a large influx of dispossessed peasants and their children during the thirties had resulted in a Ukrainization of the urban laboring class be accepted, there is no evidence that such persons became interested in politics or had any important part in nationalist activity. Probably those who were mature when they left the village continued to be peasants in outlook, while a few rose into the intelligentsia, acquiring its coloration.

As frequently observed in this study, the disproportion of material available is no sure indication of a corresponding difference in the importance of factors involved. Since in many instances only fragmentary evidence is at hand, what is presented may be

[29] Cf. articles in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 12, 1941, p. 3; October 3, 1942, p. 2.
[30] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 3, 1942, p. 2; PS 1693.
[31] See the clandestine leaflet from the Odessa area previously referred to for sharp OUN-B criticism of the intelligentsia as tools of the Germans.

sufficient grounds to deal with him in summary proceeding as a "separatist". Pravda of October 16, 1937 even accuses non-Russian students of "mutilating the great Russian language with all kinds of local linguistic rubbish".

The Russian State Publishing House in Moscow is playing a leading role in the language fight. Of 20 monographs which were published up to midsummer 1939 as a result of the great Shevchenko celebrations, no less than 16 were written in Russian and only 4 in the Ukrainian language.

Finally, a favorite method of Russianization is the granting of prizes, free journeys, and privileged places of work and study to young Ukrainians.

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Young people are supposed to spend their leisure time in the Party organizations of the "Yellow Bills", the "Pioneers" and with the "Communistic Socialistic Youth" (Komsomol). /This is an erroneous reading of the Soviet abbreviation of Komministicheski Soiuz Molodiozh; which means Communist League of Young People. Editor/ There they are divided up into "groups of various interests" where they "can develop and satisfy their most urgent needs". There are those interested in the theater, music, sports, politics, the army and similar things. "From the outposts, from groups, from the clubs, from schools, the young people of talent come into the guardianship of the Pioneers every day, every evening, and there they develop, for they are under the supervision of experts..." (71) What "urgent needs" means is

71: H. Furman: Activity and Life of the Pioneers in the Ukraine.

explained by the Kiyev Visti of March 27, 1939, which says that the children conversation hours

665 in the movies and the /126/ theater are "dedicated
883 to the historic Party Congress". According to
867 Proletarska Pravda of January 5, 1938, popular
857 conversations "about the difficult life of children in capitalist countries, about the international youth movement and the forthcoming meeting of the Supreme Council of the USSR are carried on" at such gatherings.

875 The teaching personnel in Soviet Ukraine consists largely of Russians and Jews. In the "pedagogical technical schools" and the "pedagogical institutes" in which educators are trained, the main emphasis is put on a sound knowledge of the Communist doctrine. It is obvious that in the process other subjects, such as language, spelling, history and the like, are neglected. If even in Leningrad "the struggle against illiteracy among the teachers is being intensified", (72)

72. Kommunistische Aufklärung of December 16, 1935, quoted from Richthofen: Bolschewistische Wissenschaft und Kulturpolitik /Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy/, page 75.

what may one expect to find in the provinces! In a single Ukrainian rayon 400 teachers had inadequate knowledge of orthography. (73) The profes-

73. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Ukraine.

sion of the Soviet Ukrainian teacher is certainly
[665] not enticing. The pay is very small; the village schoolmasters are often paid only in kind, and if they wander off into the factories and the teacher shortage becomes too great, the Komsomol sometimes comes to the rescue and "quickly mobilizes 50,000 members as substitutes". (74)

74. Kommunist of May 19, 1931, quoted by Danko; The Nation in Soviet Chains.

876 of a machine and who, like a machine, heedless of personal concerns, unencumbered by spiritual impulses will produce the maximum number of revolutions for as long a time as possible. Only when the entire production of the educational factories is standardized does the individual product adapt itself without friction to the process. If the education of children were left to the families as it was before, the entire experiment would be jeopardized from the beginning, the more so since the Soviet Union is still primarily an agrarian country. For this reason the Bolsheviks replace the irreplacable educational force of the family with children's and young people's homes. This has its advantages: family ties are loosened and finally severed, the poison of Ukrainian nationalism is staved off and God is eliminated.

Thus young people are reared, homines technici who "perform their tasks purely automatically like machines, devoid of any moments of emotion, detached from any family ties and from ethnic groups, free from religious prejudice, merely on the basis of a rationally determined plan. But the machine is cruel; it destroys and crushes everything that stands in its way, for it knows no feelings, no former merits, it does not perceive individual greatness. Everything that towers above the measuring rod of the official pattern is mowed down, has its head cut off".(77)

77. Richthofen: Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy, page 76.

600 /Facing page 128/ /A typical workers' settlement near Krivoy Rog. Everywhere around the industrial cities which have sprung up like mushrooms, such loam huts are built as workers' cottages./7/Facing page 129/ /Richelieu Terrace in Odessa/7/129/

665 893 876 The head of the Komsomol, Kosarev, was justified in making the following statement at the

4 [For plates, cf. pp 222-223, category 11c - Analyst]

665 23rd International Youth Day in Moscow in 1937:
883 "Never in the history of the world have there been
876 and are there such conditions for growth, education and training of the younger generation as have been created for young people among us by the Soviet government, by the Communist Party..." There are countless proofs of the fact that the basic principles of Bolshevik education are refuted by the products of this education.[7] The Komsomolskaja Pravda, number 83, 1935 admits "that the criminal elements in schools developed more actively than the Komsomols and the Pioneers, and therefore drew a large number of students into their sphere of influence", and Pravda of [681] February 19, 1935 reports that the following punishments are administered to combat hoodlumism among children of from 8 to 12 years: "The expulsion of the hoodlums from school, legal persecution of their parents, the formation of special divisions of militia to combat youthful criminals, and so forth." (78) This picture is

78. Richthofen, Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy, page 75.

rounded off by the introduction on April 7, 1935 of the death penalty for children beginning at the age of 12 for those of them who can be shown to have committed theft, banditry, murder or to have contemplated murder, and by the purges which began in the autumn of 1937 against the members of the Komsomol, especially in the Ukraine.

/130/ In the Village

181 During the years in which Shevchenko stands watch in the searing heat of the Kirghiz Steppes, his friend Kostomariv formulates for the first time the contrasts between Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups. According to this, a tendency toward spirituality prevails in the social and

7 [For a discussion of Bolshevik educational theory and methods, cf. pp 133-135, category MC-Analyst]